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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Debate Leading Nowhere

Sure enough, the Communists began it. They charged the United States with carrying on germ warfare in Korea, backed the charge with confessions signed by captured American airmen, blew it up into a world-wide propaganda campaign, and filed a complaint in the U. N. American denials were generally believed outside the Communist countries, but since the investigating committee appointed by the General Assembly was boycotted by China and North Korea, no evidence could be gathered during the war to support them. Last week Dr. Charles Mayo, of the American delegation at the U. N., brought some countercharges before the Political Committee. He presented sworn affidavits of grueling interrogations, threats, and physical torture to force "confessions" of germ warfare from war prisoners. A second report, this one a horrifying catalogue of brutalities against U. N. prisoners of war in general, was issued by the army with the obvious purpose of fortifying the first and presenting an over-all indictment of the Communists to world opinion and specifically to the United Nations. Mr. Lodge has formally asked the General Assembly to take up the charges.

War crimes can seldom be proved, and these will not be even though the evidence may be true and be widely believed. If they come up in the Assembly, the Communists will deny them and then produce similar crimes committed by the U. N. forces. These will also remain unproved but will have their effect. For the world knows that brutalities were practiced on both sides. The North Koreans and Chinese were probably more systematic but could hardly have behaved with greater ferocity than the South Koreans, especially in the early period of the war. To swap atrocity charges is a poor way of approaching peace in Korea, even when one side has the better case. We think the U. N. would be well advised to shelve the matter and begin looking for bases of agreement.

Guilt By Blood

McCarthy's investigatory antics at Fort Monmouth must leave every objective observer baffled and resentful. For more than a week the Senator held daily closed sessions with witnesses, and followed each session with a press conference at which he dealt exclusively in innuendos, insinuations, and implications. Since his unhappy experience with "statistics" on subversion in Acheson's State Department, McCarthy has apparently decided that it never pays to be specific. So, in his press talks, Rosenberg spy rings were hinted at but never documented; mysterious Fort Monmouth papers had turned up in East Germany, but were never produced; witnesses were found who had "spilled all," but obviouslyly not quite enough to discourage the search for further witnesses. He has been so careful that no one at this stage can call him a liar; one can only remind him that a sincere investigator doesn't gossip and keeps his facts for the duly constituted authorities.

But McCarthy got more than headlines out of Fort Monmouth; he got twenty or more heads, too. How good a case was made against most of the dismissed personnel we have no means of knowing, for again nothing has been publicly documented. In several instances, however, the victims are fighting back, asserting that they have been fired—as Lieutenant Milo Radulovich was dismissed from the Air Force—solely because they are related to people alleged to be subversive. Neither the army nor McCarthy has denied these charges, and judging by the Radulovich case, we may assume that guilt by blood has been added to guilt by association as part of the *mores* of our time. Did we say "our time"? Alfred Rosenberg, the philosopher of Nazism, once said of all people of non-Germanic blood: "Their guilt was to have been born at all."

Bonn Gets Tougher

The general expectation has been that the Bonn regime, while maintaining a rigid attitude towards Russia, would seek to improve its relations with France. Sharing that impression, Bidault has been confidently awaiting some conciliatory move by West Germany on the Saar question, the settlement of which France considers a sine qua non for French ratification of the European army agreement. Adenauer, at a recent press conference, dashed all such hopes. He demanded nothing less than the abrogation of the present Saar constitution and the reestablishment in the territory of "political liberties"—a euphemism for permitting the anti-French Saar parties to get financial support from Ruhr industrialists who are plotting against the autonomous Saar region.

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Apparently resigned to a delay in the ratification of the E. D. C., Adenauer is using the Saar to pressure Paris into signing the all-important second agreement which would restore full sovereignty to the Bonn Republic. Once this was achieved, the Chancellor would no longer have to reckon with the French Parliament, which is showing itself to be increasingly hostile to a European army; he could turn directly to Washington in search of a military treaty similar to the one the United States has already signed with Madrid.

It may be that Adenauer's sudden anti-French policy is due in part to the former Nazis whom he has drawn into his new cabinet: Kraft, Oberlaender, and George Schreiber, the new Minister of the Interior. In any case, Adenauer's increasing arrogance should surprise no one. In the course of two days last month, the British High Commissioner paid him no less than three visits, seeking his approval of the Allied reply to the latest Soviet note.

No Free Masons Allowed

Once upon a time a certain Thirty-third Degree Mason named Harry Truman was told by a Spanish confrère about the continued persecution of Masons in Spain. Horrified, he swore that that "bastard" at Madrid would not get a nickel from the American Administration. The pledge was soon forgotten, with results only now coming to light. Word from Spain reveals that when the recent pact between the Franco government and Mr. Truman's successor was nearing completion, Foreign Minister Artajo told Ambassador Dunn that Spain must have the same right as the United States to scrutinize the records of members of missions entering the country. Mr. Dunn replied confidently that he need not worry: no Communists would be sent to Spain. Señor Artayo replied: "I am not thinking so much of Communists as of Free Masons." The Ambassador demurred, explaining that in the United States, Masons were rather respectable people, well placed and politically influential. The Foreign Minister was adamant: "We don't want a single Free Mason here," he repeated. And the American Ambassador yielded. At least that is the story from Madrid, and we see no reason to doubt its truth.

Generous Uncle Sam

It often seems that public relations, which is commercialized diplomacy, operates in every area of American life except diplomacy. There, the preferred way of attracting world attention is to put your foot in your mouth. A painful example occurred recently, when Washington announced that it had decided to withdraw from, and thus probably put an end to, the International Civil Aviation Organization, a United Nations agency which for seven years has been operating a network of weather ships in the North Atlantic. The official explanation of

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our withdrawal reads: "The Government of the United States . . . has determined that the services provided by the ocean stations in the North Atlantic are no longer required by the United States and that the benefits derived by the United States are no longer commensurate with the cost."

The I. C. A. O. has been a successful and picturesque demonstration of cooperation among nations. Six countries operate its ships and nine others contribute money to its upkeep. In addition to providing detailed hour-by-hour information on weather over the ocean, the ships have been used for on-the-spot rescue work and have already saved more than 150 lives. We supply 15 of the 25 ships needed to man the stations; it is said to cost us a million dollars per ship per year. That may be more than we can afford and it may be more than our proper share. But the announcement doesn't go into such matters. It merely states that we are quitting one of the U. N.'s pitifully few working examples of cooperation because we find it isn't profitable. Suppose now that someone in Washington discovers that the Children's Emergency Fund does precious little for American kids?

STILETTO INTO ISRAEL

The State Department Plot . . *by Lillie Shultz*

United Nations, November 2

NOT PEACE, but a sword, may be the new watchword of the United Nations in the Middle East. The answer to violence in that area may be a promise not to utter the word peace—let alone seek it! According to authoritative sources, this is the gist of a secret covenant, secretly arrived at, with the Arab countries.

A promise not to seek any action by the Security Council which could *compel* the Arab states and Israel to negotiate a peace settlement is the price allegedly paid by the Big Three for the withdrawal from the Council's agenda of an Arab proposal that there be a discussion of "aggression in Jordan by Israeli armed forces."

Was the withdrawal of the Arab complaint designed to set the stage for the more authoritative allegation along the same lines by General Bennike—challenged to be sure by Israel, but more difficult to refute—or just general appeasement? One thing is certain. The extraordinary rush on October 17 by the Big Three to invoke Council action to "prevent a possible threat to the security of the area," is now exposed as a shoddy maneuver against Israel which is backfiring badly.

No fundamental discussion has yet taken place, although two weeks have elapsed. At the most, the Council at its next meeting will lay the groundwork for a resolution to save face for the Big Three. In all probability it will call for an increase in the number of Truce Commission observers in the Middle East, and possibly place mobile units at their disposal. Whether or not Israel is to be censured for the tragedy at Kibya is still a moot question. Britain is seeking strong criticism—no doubt as a form of self-absolution for its own casual killings of Egyptians at Ismailia.

Despite ample evidence of tension revealed in General Bennike's cautious report, apparently there will be no move in the current debate to impel the conversion of the armistice into a formal settlement, even though General Bennike has stated that the armistice agreements "have lasted too long not to have lost part of their effectiveness." Unless, of course, public wrath compels a different course.

The failure to act would represent a retreat from the position of a year ago when the Big Three supported a resolution in the General Assembly asking the parties concerned to discuss a peace settlement. Arab intransigence, aided by the Soviet bloc, prevented this resolution from securing the necessary majority. But it did represent recognition that U. N. initiative is required to put a formal end to the Palestine war.

The Big Three, forced in full public view to produce a policy which will at once satisfy justice, the Arabs, the objectives of the United Nations, and still advance their own goals, admittedly have a complicated job. Small wonder fissures have appeared in their solid front.

That there is a large-scale move to appease the Arabs, with the State Department as its principal proponent, has become even clearer since the Security Council took up the Syrian complaint against Israel's construction, on Israel territory, of a canal to provide hydroelectric power.

The purpose of Mr. Dulles's policy is to satisfy the Arabs by destroying Israel's viability and independence. In withholding economic aid to the Jewish state on the basis of the Syrian complaint, the State Department proposed to cripple Israel's power to become self-sustaining, to make it completely dependent on United States dollars—and thus to assure its greater amenability to United States pressures.

The speciousness of the Syrian complaint was easily exposed in last Friday's presentation to the Security Council. Small wonder General Bennike hesitated for a month before bringing it to the Security Council—and the United States never wanted it to reach there.

What is the Syrian complaint? It is that the canal violates the armistice agreements, invades Arab property, and increases military tensions.

What are the facts? On July 31, 1953, General Bennike was told orally by the Israelis about the project. Detailed plans were submitted to Colonel Tilletson, acting head of the Israel-Syrian Mixed

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Armistice Commission, on September 2 and 3, 1953, and received his concurrence. The project accordingly proceeded. About a week later Syria complained to the Mixed Armistice Commission. Not until September 23 did General Bennike ask Israel to stop work pending an agreement with Syria. Not until October 16 did Syria ask that its complaint be put on the agenda of the Security Council. But on September 18 or 19 Israel learned from the State Department that aid would be suspended. In other words, the State Department penalized Israel *before* the Chairman of the Truce Commission had ruled against the Jewish state.

WHAT justification is there for Syria's complaint? None, except a desire to harass. The canal is entirely in Israel territory, although part is in a demilitarized zone. Arab lands are not involved. Two to three years are expected to elapse before the canal can be completed. Then the water required for the power plant will be diverted from the Jordan into the canal and thence into Lake Tiberias. No alteration of the general course of the river is involved. Syria has no boundary with the Jordan, which enters Arab territory for the first time *south* of Lake Tiberias, forming there a frontier with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Since the waters of Lake Tiberias empty into the Jordan, obviously there will be no diversion of water from Arab territory. As the canal runs parallel to the river, it interposes a further barrier between Israel and Syria and presumably lessens, rather than aggravates, the possibility of military advantage accruing to Israel.

Further, Syria claims that an area known as the Buteiha Farms in its territory, deriving its irrigation waters from the Jordan, would be denied their use. But as far back as September 24 the Foreign Minister of Israel confirmed in writing to General Bennike prior assurances that, although Israel challenged the allegation, it was prepared to give juridical pledges which would cover Syria's complaint. Israel offered to sign a special agreement covering the area, and even to complete technical arrangements which would enable Syria to have a reservoir on its own soil, insuring that Israel would not be in a position to control the supply of water. This offer was not accepted.

That Syria, an avowed enemy of Israel should persist in its obstructionist tactics is understandable. That the State Department should have seized this flimsy complaint to begin an economic boycott of Israel to prevent the building of the canal is understandable only as part of a nefarious purpose. For the canal is central to an eighteen-year Israel project designed to develop the potential of its limited water resources, to secure 2,400,000,000 cubic meters of water per year, to bring water to the Negev, and ultimately to make self-sufficient a population of 4,000,000. Half of the 8,100 square miles of Israel territory are desert. With a present population of under 2,000,000, Israel is producing only half of the food which it requires. The importation of the remainder is a strain on its economy. When completed, the project will provide water for irrigation, create hydroelectric power, accelerate agricultural and industrial development, *and make Israel self-sustaining,* at least in food. The plan in no way conflicts with Arab interests.

Admittedly a difficult undertaking in view of the terrain and Israel's limited resources, it is nevertheless a feasible one and is being carried out with the help of some of the most distinguished experts on water development, a number of them Americans. They include such outstanding authorities as J. L. Savage, consulting engineer, former chief design engineer of the United States Bureau of Reclamation; H. Bashore, consulting engineer, former Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Reclamation; Dr. A. Wolman, former Chairman of the President's Committee on Water Resources, now a professor at Johns Hopkins University; J. S. Cotten, consulting engineer, expert on water and power schemes and a former member of the Federal Power Commission of the United States; and Dr. F. A. Nickel, a consulting geologist, specialist on reservoirs and dam sites.

The State Department is familiar with every aspect of Israel's needs and economy, perhaps too familiar. It is certainly familiar with the central water-development scheme. One might have assumed that the dynamism of Israel would have excited admiration and help. That it provoked instead the weapon of economic boycott can only mean that the State Department desires, if not exactly the economic strangulation of the little country, at least its economic dependency.

WHY has the State Department embarked upon this meretricious course? Obviously out of a desire to strengthen relations with the Arabs, but also as a form of self-vindication by certain permanent staff members who never liked the U. N. partition resolution. In 1947 only the intervention of the White House prevented the success of their maneuvers against it. Many of the persons responsible for the obstructionist tactics of that crucial period are still in office. They have now come to the fore as the principal advisers of the Secretary of State. Mr. Dulles may be only their tool, but obviously he is a willing one.

In September and October members of the Department were very active in setting a stage which would invite public resentment against Israel. To cushion himself against political repercussions, Mr. Dulles tried to sell Adlai Stevenson a bipartisan policy on the Middle East. But Stevenson wouldn't buy. In line with this campaign against Israel there occurred:

1. On October 17, the harsh United States condemnation of Israel in the Kibya incident without waiting to hear the facts.

2. On October 18, the planting of an exclusive story with the diplomatic correspondent of the New York *Times,* attacking Israel as obstructionist to the United States and the U. N., and most particularly for being non-cooperative "with the United States or the U. N. in developing the water resources of the Israel-Arab states area for the benefit of the largest number of persons on both sides of the frontier." This in the face of a year of unsuccessful pleading orally and by memorandum, by Israel for United States initiative in behalf of regional development schemes, and in the light of a public statement on September 17 by the Foreign Minister of Israel, expressing the hope for *regional agreements for regional development* of the Arab-Israel area.

3. The leakage through the same correspondent of the suspension of economic aid to Israel, despite an understanding that this would not become public.

4. On October 19, the leakage by a State Department official to the U. N. correspondent of the *Times* of the now-famous "T.V.A." story.

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The "T.V.A." working paper, prepared at the request of the State Department by persons who had never been to the area, and described by its authors as a desk study, was published as if it were a mature project. The plan was pushed in the hope that it would provoke Israel's rejection, strengthen the State Department's flimsy case, and thus also win Arab approval. The hope was based on the fact that the working paper, which Israel never saw before its publication on October 19, fails to provide for Israel's basic need, which is to bring water from the north to the Negev; allocates only 32½ per cent of the water to Israel; and envisages construction of a key dam in Lebanon, thus giving that country an important measure of control over Israel's water and power. The last is the more remarkable in that Lebanon itself is no beneficiary of the plan.

The State Department T.V.A. objective has already misfired in three respects: press reports indicate it has been rejected by all the Arab states involved; it has failed to produce a rejection by Israel; it has created new tensions in Jordan, which had been counting on a Yarmuk-Jordan development scheme for its own exclusive benefit and for which an agreement exists between Jordan and U.N.W.R.A. But this scheme is being abandoned as too costly, and the United States intends the so-called T.V.A. plan as a substitute.

Mr. Dulles's other schemes have also boomeranged. He has been compelled by the pressure of public condemnation to restore aid to Israel with no resultant popularity to himself or the United States. He is not likely to get a Security Council decision permanently holding up the Israel canal project. He has widened the rift between himself and Ambassador Lodge, the U. N. representative, and between himself and President Eisenhower.

When on October 27 the representative of Israel, in agreeing to the temporary suspension of the canal project pending a Security Council discussion, stated that his acceptance did not represent new policy, he was telling the truth. Official records show that as far back as September 28 Israel had expressed such a willingness. Actually the device by which Israel's agreement was made known to the Council was to save the face of Mr. Dulles. Overwhelmed by public condemnation, Mr. Dulles sent a frantic S.O.S. to Ambassador Lodge to take prompt action to facilitate rapid restoration of aid.

It is no accident that the restoration of economic aid to Israel was first announced by the President and not by Mr. Dulles. It may be assumed that for this Mr. Lodge was responsible. And there is a running battle now between Mr. Lodge and Mr. Dulles's representatives, who still want Israel chastised. Nor is Eric Johnston's presence in the Middle East adding luster to Mr. Dulles's reputation. Mr. Johnston was sent as the personal emissary of President Eisenhower to feel out the situation, not to sell the "T.V.A." scheme released by Mr. Dulles's underlings.

IT IS too early to say whether these rifts indicate disagreement on fundamental United States policy in the Middle East or merely tactics. Lower echelons of the American delegation in the U. N. have not hesitated to spread the allegation that those who oppose appeasement of the Arabs are only half Americans—as appeasement is tied up with Western security.

Since maneuvering has failed, has not the time come to give statesmanship a chance? Real statesmanship would include a forceful insistence that discussions for peace be arranged; and an equally forceful, generous plan to make U. N. and American resources, once peace is achieved, available for the development of the entire Middle East, including both the Arab states and Israel. An honest quid pro quo would be very difficult for even the Arabs to reject.

SOLUTION IN KOREA

Unity and Neutrality . . *by Channing Liem*

THERE were five causes of the Korean war—Soviet expansionism, communism, the upheaval going on throughout the continent of Asia, the partition of Korea, and the unpopular regimes in both zones. Russian imperialism in the Far East is a historical reality. As pan-Slavism once proved a helpful tool for czarist imperialism, communism now serves the Soviet rulers. However, if Russia finds communism an effective way to expand the offensive in the Far East, and particularly in Korea, it is because the Soviet has been aided by other factors, one of them the widespread revolutionary fever. With increasing fury millions of Asians, aroused by poverty, resentful of foreign domination, and stirred by Western thought, are clamoring for what the late Sun Yat-sen termed "the three principles of the people"—nationalism, democracy, and livelihood. Their experience of these things is limited, but they know enough to realize that they are not only desirable but theirs by right. No power is strong enough to silence these people. The only way to deal with them is to sympathize with their aspirations and help them to help themselves.

Unfortunately, after World War II the Western powers were slow to realize what great changes were taking place in

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Asia. Some returned to their old trade of imperialism; others were undecided about the course they should follow. Meanwhile dire poverty and desire for self-rule made the Asians easy prey to Communist propaganda.

The Communist North Korean regime is sustained largely by intimidation and deception. Cho Mansik, whom the North Koreans elected as their leader in the wake of Japan's surrender, was arrested shortly afterward because of his unbending patriotism and is now thought to be dead. The late Dr. Kiusic Kimm, a South Korean political leader who went to Pyong Yang in the spring of 1948 to persuade the North Korean regime to agree to the unification of the country, was reported by the Communist radio as having praised the Pyong Yang regime for its "great accomplishments." As a matter of fact, Dr. Kimm was given no opportunity to make any kind of statement. I was told this by Dr. Kimm himself and by others who were in Pyong Yang at the time.

ONE WISHES one could speak differently of the government of South Korea today. To be sure, it has the appearance of a democracy, if only because of the presence of its allies. Some of the mistakes it has made were due to causes beyond its control. But the grim fact is that it persists in undemocratic practices and that the people, though they find the situation intolerable, dare not speak out. To be convinced one need only look at the record. At the elections to the National Assembly in May, 1950—which, incidentally, were held only at the prodding of the United States—the government candidates suffered a smashing defeat. At that time the people dared to vote as they did because they were not yet thoroughly intimidated by the government; the Korean war had not yet broken out and the presence of foreign powers preserved a measure of freedom.

Dr. Rhee's open defiance of the Constitution in his campaign for reelection last year, his use of strong-arm tactics against the warning of the United States and the United Nations, and his more recent threats to resume fighting prove him a dangerous ally. If he is unchecked, a third world war may result that will destroy both victor and vanquished. A man so contemptuous of the policies of the friendly powers on whose help his country depends cannot be expected to heed the will of his own people.

This is not to say that Rhee's views are all wrong. One cannot help sympathizing with his reluctance to sit down with the Communists or to agree to an arrangement which will leave his country divided. What makes him dangerous is his blindness to the fact that the Communists are already so powerful that we cannot destroy them without destroying ourselves in the process. The longer we allow Rhee to have his way, the more the masses of the people will turn against the free world.

It is little wonder, therefore, that the United Nations had tough going in Korea. The war was unifying Asia against us and thus playing into Russia's hands. Now the democracies must either

Herblock in the Washington *Post*

declare war on Soviet Russia or wage a peaceful campaign to help the Asian peoples to realize their just aspirations and thus liberate them from Communist influence.

THIS INTRODUCES the question: How can such a peaceful campaign be conducted? I submit the following points in the earnest hope that they will receive careful consideration:

1. Before the opening of the Korean Political Conference the free world should agree on a plan for Korea consistent with the principles of peace, justice, and democracy, a plan on which it is prepared to stand.

2. This plan should require (a) that Korea become a unified and neutral state; (b) that the unified democratic government of Korea be chosen in a nation-wide election supervised by the United Nations Commission on Korea, which should consist of representatives of neutral states; (c) that the election be delayed until economic rehabilitation has reached such a level that those in power cannot exploit economic misery for their selfish ends; (d) that the rehabilitation program be administered by the United Nations Commission on Korea; (e) that within a minimum necessary period of time all foreign troops in Korea be replaced by security forces supplied by the neutral nations; (f) that these security forces be under the direction of the United Nations Commission on Korea, whose decisions shall be determined by majority rule; (g) that these forces be withdrawn from Korea when the unified Korean government has, with the help of the United Nations, created its national defense force.

3. If the enemy accepts the plan, the United Nations members of the Korean Political Conference should agree to receive the Peking regime as a member of the United Nations as soon as all foreign troops have been withdrawn from Korea, and recommend a conference of the great powers to produce an over-all agreement on all major issues, including the neutralization of Germany, a guaranty of security for Russia against German aggression, and the like.

THE PLAN outlined above may not be perfect, but it includes all the points that must be dealt with. It seeks to eliminate the causes of the tragedy in Korea and to restore peace with justice in the Far East and elsewhere. Last but not least, it puts the whole question of war or peace squarely in the lap of Moscow and Peking.

If the enemy persists in intransigence, how should the free world respond? This question must also be faced, for it is entirely possible that the Communist leaders may prefer an indefinite crisis. The partisans of the North Korean regime are already bitterly denouncing those whom they call "neutrals," which can only mean that they are not interested in a peace that disallows the Pyong Yang dictatorship. So the world is witnessing the curious spectacle of Pyong Yang and Seoul singing the same tune.

In such case the surest way to ultimate victory is to emphasize once again that the United Nations' proposed plan may still be accepted and to concentrate upon turning South Korea into a model free nation by bringing economic well-being to the masses, instituting political

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reforms, and setting up an adequate defense force along the Thirty-eighth Parallel. This program would not only clarify the West's position but prove its sincerity through positive action. It would force the enemy to make concessions, for he knows that without the Asian millions to mislead and exploit he cannot hope to win the war. To many in the free world it may seem an admission of defeat, for it is a departure from traditional warfare. But there is only one alternative—to enter upon a war of annihilation in which everything we fought for would vanish.

A WORLD I'D LIKE

An Unprophetic Vision . . *by Bertrand Russell*

THE technical advances of the last 150 years have brought about a new possibility of general well-being such as has never existed before since there first were men on the earth.

Primitive man suffered from the cold in winter and the heat in summer. He lived in terror of wild beasts. In good times he obtained just enough food to keep him in health. In bad times he died of hunger. There were terrific visitations of plague and pestilence in which whole tribes were wiped out.

It was a furtive, painful, and precarious existence, owing, at that time, not to the folly and wickedness of man but to natural facts with which he could not yet cope. Gradually his intelligence transformed the scene. He made weapons which enabled him to fight lions and tigers, rogue elephants and furious rhinoceroses. He acquired the art of agriculture, which made his food supply fairly secure for about four years out of every five. He learned to keep warm by the use of fire and dry by the building of houses.

By these means men in ancient Egypt, 5,000 years ago, reached a level of well-being—if it can be so called—which until our own day has scarcely been surpassed among Chinese and Indian peasants. But if this is well-being as compared to the life of primitive man, it is utter misery as compared to the life of ordinary men and women in the West.

In the East the peasant and his wife, and their children as soon as they have the muscular strength, toil from morning till night to obtain the food the human frame requires, and get that only in good years. In bad years immense numbers die. At all times most children die before they are grown up. Bubonic plague, pneumonic plague, typhus, smallpox, and other diseases sweep through the population, leaving behind them a great swath of death. All this misery is now unnecessary. Given a little wisdom and a little good-will, there need not be anywhere any abject poverty, there need not be great destructive epidemics, there need not be more than a very low child mortality, there need not be excessive hours of labor.

HOW COULD this be brought about? Let us for a moment forget all about politics and assume some benevolent dictator, sufficiently trusted for men to obey him willingly and sufficiently wise to make use of all the best technical possibilities. What would such a dictator do? He would realize that hitherto the increase in the productivity of labor has not been used to lighten human burdens. It has been used for two purposes—to increase the welfare of one's own group and to improve the means of killing members of other groups. He would point out that with our present techniques we could without excessive labor produce enough food for everybody, provided the population did not increase up to the limits of subsistence.

I think food would be the very first problem that he would tackle. He would see to it that the best methods of agriculture were taught everywhere, that the most destitute were assisted to achieve some kind of economic security, and that the benefits to be derived from better agriculture were not all swallowed up by an increase of population. He would, at the same time, use medical instruction and public hygiene to cut down the death rate. Having secured a population free from abject poverty, overwork, and premature death, he would have leisure to think about the problems of what those who have never been hungry call the higher life.

I do not wish to seem in any way to belittle this part of his task. On the contrary, I think that if the existence of human beings has any value it is not because they are born and eat and sleep and finally die but because of mental achievements for which some degree of physical well-being is a condition. I do not think that in the modern world it is possible for the mental and moral life, even among the fortunate, to be what it should be while the greater part of mankind still suffers totally unnecessary misery.

Suppose you were a visitor from another planet, able to observe the actions of men but ignorant of their language and therefore impervious to their propaganda, their thinking, and their myths, And suppose that you could only observe them in large masses, so that your view of their proceedings would be summary and statistical. What, broadly speaking, would you see? You would see two vast collections of human beings, the one on the whole prosperous, healthy, not overworked, more or less educated, the other very poor, often starving, usually dying in infancy, and working such long hours at purely physical toil that no leisure remained for anything mental. You would observe, after a time, that these two opposing groups hated and feared each other and were preparing, with extraordinary skill, schemes of mutual extermination only too likely to be successful.

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If, after a time, you learned their languages, you would be told by the richer group that the poorer group have no idealism, that they care only about material things, that they are destructive from envy, and that all we hold precious can only be preserved if the poorer group lives in constant terror of extermination. On the other side you would be told that all the troubles of the world spring from the greedy possessiveness of the richer group, and that if they were willing to share equally with the victims of poverty, all would be well.

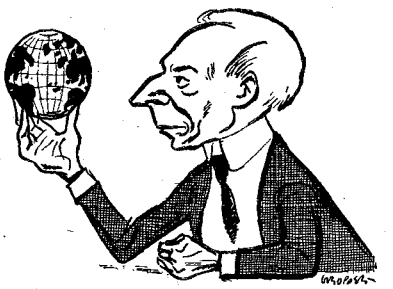
Neither side would be telling you quite the truth. It is not *merely* greed that makes the richer group cling to its advantages. If there were sudden economic equality at the present moment, the result would be that happy populations would be reduced to the level of the unhappy, not that the unhappy would be raised to the level of the happy. To raise the level of the poorer populations is a task that must take time and that requires skills only likely to be developed where there are many people not on the verge of starvation. It is true, however, that so long as glaring economic inequality exists between one part of the world and another, there will be envy on the one side and fear on the other, so that genuine cooperation will remain difficult.

WHAT I MOST wish to emphasize is that the obstacles to universal happiness in the present day are, at bottom, psychological, not physical, and that this is a new fact in human history. If it were possible for the poorer groups not to feel envy and the richer groups not to feel fear, a rapid advance on the part of the poorer groups would be possible without any damage to the well-being of the richer groups.

At the moment a fundamental change in the existing psychology may seem no more than a utopian dream. The psychology of ordinary individuals becomes accumulated into the policy of great powers. The mutual hate and fear are embodied in armaments which, in turn, increase the mutual hate and fear. In a kind of blind fatalism the human race marches on toward a universal disaster which it foresees but imagines to be inevitable.

But it is not inevitable. There is no need to march toward disaster. There is no need to permit mankind to be politically dominated by hate and fear to the virtual exclusion of all other emotions. I will agree at once that it is not easy to see how to emerge from the tragic impasse in which we seem lost. Especially for us of the West it is not easy, since we are met with a hostility and suspicion which, so far, it has not been possible to break down.

I do not think the way out is either easy or dramatic. The process required is more like the gradual subsidence of waves in the sea after a great storm. If the cold war stays cold long enough, something of the sort may happen. But if it is to happen we must remain aware that there are rational hopes not based



Bertrand Russell

on violence and that if only mankind would realize it, there is no conflict between the real interests of one group and the real interests of another.

Happiness is not to be secured by politics alone, but there are certain political conditions without which, in our modern world, happiness must be precarious and temporary. The first of these is that all the major armaments should be under the control of one single authority, so that great wars would no longer be possible. The second is that there should be a continual approach in the poorer parts of the world toward that level of prosperity which has already been achieved in the West. And the third is that the habits of populations everywhere should be such as to prevent a rapid increase of population. Given these three conditions, fear might cease to dominate our daily lives, and with the disappearance of fear other more generous and more creative emotions would take its place.

Once these political problems were solved I should expect an extraordinary renaissance in art and literature, in the joyousness of daily life, in kindliness, in social relations, in thought and science. I should hope to see man at last come into his kingdom—the kingdom that he has deserved by his intelligence and hitherto forfeited by mutual suspicion. The human race has become integrated as it never was before. The Mexican and Peruvian civilizations flourished in complete isolation from other continents until the time of Columbus. The Chinese, except in their conversion to Buddhism, suffered little foreign influence until the nineteenth century. The Russians went their own way until the time of Peter the Great.

Gradually all this has changed. One part of the world inevitably has effects on another part, and what these effects shall be depends enormously upon the dominant feelings in the different parts. Where the feelings are hostile, one part can bring death to the other and the other can probably reciprocate. Where the feelings are friendly, they can bring each other prosperity. The older competitive doctrines which have come down to us from the time of tribal warfare are no longer true. Two powerful groups can always prosper more by cooperation than they can by competition. During the first Great War many English people imagined that after victory England would be prosperous because German trade would have been destroyed. It did not work out so. Two successive victories, though complete in a military sense, have brought us to the verge of destitution, and a third can only complete the process.

I AM NO prophet, and I cannot tell what mankind collectively will decide. It may decide that it has existed long enough and that it is time to yield place to the animals we have hitherto called "lower." This is the view of most practical statesmen and of those who are called realists. People who like myself think that it would be a good thing if the human race continued to exist expose themselves to liquidation if they are Russians and to accusations of fellow-traveling if they are Western.

I do not pretend that while the existing tension continues either side can be expected to relax its war-like preparations. What I do say is that the way out of the trouble is psychological and consists in making men realize, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, that neither

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side can hope to win any good thing until there is mutual rapprochement. And in bringing about such a lessening of tension I can think of nothing more effective than the realization of the happiness that the whole human race might enjoy if only it would allow itself to do so. I have spoken mainly about material goods and political measures, but as I said before and as I must repeat, these belong only to the mechanism and not to what has value on its own account. The things that have value on their own account can, however, hardly flourish, or can flourish only with extreme difficulty, in such an atmosphere as that in which we now live. To take one great example: liberty of thought and speculation, without which there can be no mental or moral progress, is continually hampered where there is an atmosphere of fear. There comes to be a general belief that the only thing worth doing is to increase the fear until it becomes hysteria and to silence the few who refuse to be carried away.

In smaller disasters people know that this is not wise. When a ship is sinking, the captain is expected to remain calm, and those who fail to execute his orders are thought ill of. In politics people do not act in this way. If the captain remains calm he finds himself surrounded by a yelling mob which tells him that he does not realize the peril. In their excitement they refuse to do what he advises and rush hither and thither complaining of the sea. In the end they all drown because they did not have the sense to remain rational in the face of danger.

For this reason, in times of political danger men adopt foolish and destructive doctrines and fail to think straight. They persecute those who do, in a greater or less degree according to the intensity of their fear. How far this process has been carried in Russia we all know. There is some reason to apprehend that in a milder form something not wholly dissimilar may happen in the West.

If, however, the reign of fear can somehow be ended on both sides of the Iron Curtain—or if not ended, at any rate be made less virulent—intelligence and skill, which have never before been so great as they are at the present moment, and which are, in fact, the very cause of our present dangers, may be turned into fruitful channels, and our grandchildren may look back to our time as the last moment of the dark ages from which, as from a long tunnel, mankind will have emerged into the sunshine and happiness of mutual harmony.

EMERGENT AFRICA

And the Negro Press . . . *by Armistead S. Pride*

A READER of the New York *Amsterdam News* wrote that paper recently: "I have just finished reading your article on the proposed African Federation and want you to know that I am interested in what is happening in Africa. Is there any way that we can get more news? The white newspapers carry their sides. As Negroes, what happens there affects us too. I am most interested." A week later another reader wrote: "I like the international news and would like to see even a wider coverage. Our people are doing things in Africa and the Caribbean Islands and all over the world." The paper received four other letters to the same effect that week.

A month later the *News* ran the headline "W. White Blasts U. S. Ignorance on Africa" over a report of a summer institute on Africa. The N. A. A. C. P. executive secretary had said among other things, "Career men in the State Department still think of Africa as a hot, humid, unhealthy, tropical area, and not an area to be won for the free world."

It is perfectly natural that the American Negro should have an interest in Africa, though in culture he has progressed far from the African native. On a Sunday morning he may be asked by his bishop to chip in ten dollars to provide industrial training in West Africa. Once a year Negro History Week brings Sierra Leone, Lagos, and Ubangi out of the misty clouds into the church and school. There are courses on the Negro in Africa at many Negro colleges; Lincoln University in Pennsylvania holds a summer institute on Africa; Texas Southern University has an African Affairs Week. After every Presidential election a Negro is appointed minister to Liberia. And the deaths of Marcus Garvey, John Rankin, and Tom Heflin did not check the forces pushing for the mass exodus of American Negroes to the Dark Continent; just a few weeks ago New York City observed "Marcus Garvey Day" with speeches and the crowning of "Miss Africa."

The African news story has been a staple item in the 2,900 Negro newspapers that have been put out since John Russwurm, editor of the first one, *Freedom's Journal,* was "captured by the Colonization Society and sent to Africa" in 1830. Russwurm and his partner, Samuel Cornish, announced in their initial issue, dated March 16, 1827: "Useful knowledge of every kind, and everything that relates to Africa, shall find a ready admission into our columns; and as that vast continent becomes daily more known, we trust that many things will come to light, proving that the natives of it are neither so ignorant nor so stupid as they have generally been supposed to be." But for the white press Africa is just coming alive and stories about it are a recent innovation.

The practice of some of the leading Negro publications with respect to African coverage is illustrated by the fol-

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lowing items. The Pittsburgh *Courier,* second in circulation among Negro weeklies, devotes six or more inches of each issue to a column, Facts About Africa, by Harold L. Keith. The Chicago

Defender, third in circulation, departmentalizes its African intelligence under the heading Foreign News and lets it run to as much as a page. The *Amsterdam News* heads its African stories Global Roundup. *Jet,* a weekly news magazine with a circulation of 354,000, takes care of African items in a two- to four-page Foreign Section. In the Cleveland *Call and Post* the managing editor, Charles Loeb, includes Africa in his weekly comment titled World on View; the paper's new magazine editor, Ralph Mathews, featured in his first issue a half-page spread with pictures captioned Why Did Britain O. K. Nancy's Wedding but Banish Sereste?

LAST YEAR the *Courier* ran a four-part series on Africa by Horace Cayton; this year it has printed two articles by Homer Jack called South Africa—Uncensored and two by J. A. Rogers on Murder in Kenya. Rayford Logan, professor of history at Howard University and an African specialist, serves the *Courier* as foreign-affairs consultant. Weekly dispatches from Bankole Timothy, assistant editor of the Accra (Gold Coast) *Graphic,* began in the *Courier* last summer, and recently Paul Davis has been contributing signed articles from the land of Prime Minister Nkrumah. In April the *Defender* started George F. McCray's Notebook on Africa. *Ebony* has covered Negro angles in Japan, Paris, Mexico, and Jamaica. *Our World* ran Mission to Africa in May. *Color,* most clairvoyant of the lot, published last December A Nigerian Boy Speaks, Mau Mau Warriors, Haile Selassie Takes Over, and Will Colored Races Kill the U. N.?

The *Crisis* keeps up an unrelenting flow of African material. In its first issues in 1916 the quarterly *Journal of Negro History* discussed The Passing Tradition and the African Civilization, The Mind of the African Negro as Reflected in His Proverbs, The Attitude of the Free Negro Toward African Colonization, and reviewed a book, "Negro Culture in West Africa"; its content is similar today. A visit last year to the Gold Coast and environs by Attorney Elsie Austin produced A Brief African Look at the African Woman in the April *Telefact,* official organ of the National Council of Negro Women. In addition to articles of this type practically every book and important magazine article on Africa is reviewed in Negro publications.

The smaller weeklies such as the *Future Outlook* of Greensboro, North Carolina, the *Long Island Call,* the Savannah *Tribune,* the *Illinois Times,* the Indianapolis *Recorder,* the San Antonio *Register,* and the Omaha papers emphasize community matters and may for a long period seem completely unaware of Africa. And of course even the big Negro weeklies cannot compete with the general daily newspaper in day-to-day coverage of African news.

The chief source of such news for the Negro press is the Associated Negro Press, a Chicago news-gathering agency. The A. N. P. has correspondents at Freetown, Accra, Monrovia, and Durban. It devotes about one-fifth of its output to African news. Negro papers obtain other news about Africa from United Nations dispatches, American travelers, National Negro Press Association stories, and the publicity office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. A few subscribe to the International News Service. Another source of information is the African publications which have limited circulation in this country—the *Drum* of Johannesburg, the quarterly *Liberian Review* of Monrovia, the Sierra Leone *Observer,* one of the thirty-four aggressive West African newspapers.

EVEN SO, it must be said that the American Negro Press could do much more to bring the Africa story to its readers. The Mau Mau developments, for instance, failed to prompt a single Negro paper or press organization into sending a staff member to Africa. In contrast the general dailies have been so impressed with the African vogue that they have competed for fresh material and on-the-spot reports. The New York *World-Telegram* featured Robert Ruark's columns on Africa. The Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* sent its own Morley Cassidy to South Africa for a June series. Ed Lahey spent two months on the Dark Continent last spring for the Knight chain. Last spring entire issues of *Life* and the *Saturday Review of Literature* were devoted to Africa. *Time, Harper's, U. S. News and World Report, The Nation,* the New York *Times Magazine,* and *Collier's* have featured African stories in the last six months.

George S. Schuyler, associate editor of the Pittsburgh *Courier,* explains the mushrooming interest in Africa of "many of the big white-owned newspapers and magazines that previously ignored or dismissed Negro Africa" as follows: "The loss of many Asiatic colonies and the probable loss of others have turned the Western world's attention to this black land of fabulous economic resources and tremendous labor potential. It has dawned upon the more intelligent Nordics that without Africa, Western Europe will be in duck soup."

As if to emphasize the kinship between the United States Negro and his African brother the prefix "Afro" or "Africo" has appeared in the titles of no fewer than fifty-eight Negro publications. The nameplate of the Negro weekly with the highest circulation of all, the *Afro-American,* shows the title superimposed upon two hemispheres—Africa and America.

When National Negro Newspaper Week was observed here last spring, British Togoland organizations sent the Negro Newspaper Publishers' Association, the sponsor, a message of congratulation that included these lines: "Greetings to the Negro press and public of America on the anniversary of the founding of *Freedom's Journal* by John Russwurm. . . . The Negro press has fought consistently to bring about the true liberation of peoples of color from all forms of colonial oppression. We in Africa want to point out the keen sense of kinship we have for our brothers in America. Our fight as Africans is for self-government and independence."

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

France's Reluctant Vote

Paris

THERE has been no debate in the National Assembly for some time so important or so depressing as that last week on Indo-China. The evils that afflict France are many, but none of them can be cured unless the war in Indo-China is brought to an end. It is not only that it imposes an intolerable financial burden and that, year after year, the newly graduated officers from Saint Cyr, the French West Point, have to be sent to Indo-China to fight and die for France. More than that, this war represents a psychological and moral insult to the critical sense of the French. It is impossible, for example, to pretend in France that one is fighting for a "free world" with the fascist dictator of Spain as an ally. And so on the day the Indo-China debate began in the National Assembly not a single French newspaper urged continuation of the war.

Everybody, in fact, hates the war in Indo-China. Apart from a natural abhorrence of war in general, nobody can see any reason for the awful sacrifices this particular war entails, unless it be a fear of offending Washington. The conviction, which found no direct expression in the Assembly speeches but was freely voiced outside the Chamber, is that the war in Indo-China is continued mainly because the Americans demand it.

"Dupes in Indo-China and dupes in Europe. How long will the French let Adenauer conduct Western policy by exploiting American ignorance?" asked the Gaullist deputy, Philippe Barrès, in *l'Information*. Those who accuse America of forcing France to go on with a war which it has not the slightest chance of winning base their views on the official communiqué published on October 30, after the conclusion of the Washington talks on Indo-China. To be sure France received an additional $385,000,000 to make the cost of the war more bearable, but obviously it had to pay for this aid by assuming an obligation to continue the war. The interpretation of the communiqué by enemies of the Laniel-Bidault policy, including some members of the Cabinet, is that France agreed not to enter upon any negotiations with Ho Chi-minh without the approval of the United States.

But the French people cannot see the logic of not being allowed to negotiate with Ho Chi-minh when the Americans have concluded an armistice with North Korea and Communist China. Nor do they see how they can ever put an end to the war without negotiating a peace with their enemy. Now there is the additional and cruel irony created by the refusal of the Saigon National Congress to be part of the French Union as presently constituted—a decision whose gravity is not diminished by the qualifying interpretation placed upon it by Emperor Bao Dai. This rebuff is being compared with the attitude displayed by Ho Chi-minh in 1946. On March 6 of that year, after negotiations with the French Commissioner, J. Sainteny, the Vietminh leader signed a convention under which he agreed that "the Vietnam Republic forms part of the Federation of Indo-China and of the French Union as a free state." In other words, he accepted then what is today being refused by Bao Dai's Assembly.

TO MAKE matters worse there is on the one hand a lack of public confidence in Bao Dai, who some believe is quite capable of doublecrossing France and making a direct deal with the Americans in order to become the Syngman Rhee of Indo-China; and, on the other hand, there is suspicion that the recent operations around Tonkin were inspired less by military than by political and financial considerations, the purpose being to "justify" the new American aid in American eyes. French observers fear that the operations led to a serious deterioration of the French military position on the eve of what may be a new, large-scale Vietminh offensive.

These reflections and considerations occupied the minds of the majority of the deputies. And yet one could observe, as the debate went on, that few of them would vote for a resolution that might bring down the Laniel government, complicate the position of the various parties and personalities with regard to the French presidential elections next December, and, above all, produce a bad effect in Washington. Daladier, in a great political comeback, was easily the dominant figure in the discussions. He opposed both the war and the European army, making clear his belief that French opinion is turning to the left.

In an impartial appraisal of the Indo-China problem American policy cannot be blamed exclusively. In 1946 it was not Washington which kept Paris from coming to terms with Ho Chi-minh. Other factors were dominant—reluctance to see the old French empire still more diminished, fear of the repercussions that retreat from Indo-China would have on other protectorates and colonies, a feeling that those who had given their lives to defend Indo-China should not be let down and that the efforts of famous generals like De Lattre should be crowned with success. But at present it is strictly true that one of the few possible solutions for the war in Indo-China—a conference of the Big Five, including Communist China, to discuss all Asian problems—is blocked by the United States.

In the end the Assembly passed a resolution which showed clearly enough that it wanted to end the war but could come to no agreement on the means. Assuming continuation of the conflict, the text asks for the replacement of French troops by Indo-Chinese as quickly as possible, demands that the Indo-Chinese states remain within the French Union, and makes a vague reference to the desirability of negotiations for peace in Asia. But so long as a Five-Power Conference is opposed by Washington, France's prospects remain unchanged: the continuation of a senseless war which is draining the country of its youth and treasure.

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BIGGEST REACTOR

And Canada's Own . . *by P. Dempson and T. A. Kerr*

[*As the British test new atomic weapons in Australia, London is manifesting increasing resentment toward what it terms Washington's stubborn refusal to yield a reasonable quid pro quo on atomic-energy development. Recently Ritchie Calder, science editor of the London* News-Chronicle, *gave readers of* The Nation *the behind-the-scenes story of Anglo-American relations in this field. In the following article two Canadian newspapermen tell something of their country's point of view and outline its atomic-energy program.*]

Ottawa

THE CHIEF of the chemistry and engineering division of Canada's atomic-research center at Chalk River, Dr. George C. Laurence, was very definite about the lack of United States-Canadian cooperation in developing atomic energy:

> Canada [he said] has not received from the United States any engineering information related to the production of atomic bombs, such as information on the separation of Uranium 235, nor methods for extracting plutonium, nor the design and manufacture of the bomb itself. The engineering design of the Chalk River plant, the development of the methods used there for the extraction of plutonium and other products, was done in Canada entirely independently. . . . But full information has been made available to the United States on all research and development in atomic energy in Canada.

Of course under the McMahon act the United States is forbidden to furnish atomic-energy information to a foreign country. Though Canada probably feels less strongly about the matter than Britain, it has on several occasions protested to Washington against the resulting duplication of effort and is at present clinging to the hope that some day the McMahon act will be amended to permit a freer exchange of information. Despite the lack of help from the United States, Canada has today the world's most powerful atomic reactor, will shortly put one of even greater power into operation, and plans to move into the field of producing commercial atomic power in about five years.

Chiefly because the undertaking is such a huge drain on the public purse, private industry will be asked to be a partner in it, and may become the dominant partner. But in addition the government takes the position that people with experience in electric-power plants should have at least some say about atomic plants. C. D. Howe, head of the Department of Defense Production, which is in charge of Canada's atomic-energy program, told Parliament last February that production of commercial atomic power was the concern of the power companies, both private and public, and suggested they take on the assignment with data furnished by Atomic Energy of Canada, Lt., a government-owned corporation which operates the country's two existing reactors at Chalk River and is building a third. In April Mr. Howe invited private industry to participate in the construction and initial operation of a fourth reactor, an actual atomic-power plant, which was to be built whether or not the invitation was accepted.

OTHER STEPS taken recently by the government show that it intends to lose no time in trying to obtain the cooperation of the power companies in producing commercial atomic power. Early in September a three-day symposium on "the prospects of using nuclear energy for generation of electric power" was held at Chalk River and was attended by representatives of power companies and of firms manufacturing generators and other heavy equipment. Dr. C. J. Mackenzie, who retired as president of Atomic Energy of Canada, Lt., on October 1 but continues as chairman of the Atomic Energy Control Board, explained that the purpose of the conference was "to allow power companies to become better acquainted with the research results obtained at Chalk River, and our staff in turn to become more familiar with the many problems of power production and distribution."

Dr. Mackenzie spoke on the subject last March 4 to a special committee of the House of Commons on government operations in the field of atomic energy. "As you know," he said, "the world picture today is very serious; the world demand for power is going up at a terrific rate, and known sources are diminishing. Therefore within not too long a period of time a scarcity of power, from a world point of view, is going to occur." He also said: "I think the best opinion today would feel that atomic energy is not going to compete economically with central-station power of the hydro type, or the coal type where coal is cheaper; and that probably its greatest use will be in an area of power scarcity or to implement these other sources when they run low."

But Dr. Mackenzie recognized that utilization of this new power—one pound of fissionable material is the equivalent, in heat value, of from twelve to fifteen hundred tons of coal—might open up new concepts of living. "My own feeling is—and it is purely a personal matter—that atomic energy will develop probably somewhat in the way that internal-combustion power developed and that it will open up new areas. The internal-combustion engine in its infancy was thought of as a substitute for coal, but it never was. It opened up the whole field of automobiles and aircraft and changed the whole complexion of the world."

CANADA has never produced an atomic bomb and does not plan to do so, though it has the technical know-how. In this field it was in partnership with the United States during the war and is still, supplying uranium first to the Manhattan Project and then to its successor, the United States Atomic Energy Commission. With its resources and skilled personnel relieved of the pressure to

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produce atomic weapons, Canada has been able to give more intensive effort to research and to the industrial development of atomic energy. As a result, important strides have been made in the use of radioactive isotopes in medicine, agriculture, and industry.

Says Dr. Mackenzie: "These radio-isotopes have been hailed by scientists as the most important analytical discovery since the invention of the microscope; they are recognized by industrialists as valuable aids in the measurement and control of many plant operations; and they are looked on by doctors as the treatment of choice for certain diseases. Indeed, the advantages resulting from the use of radio-isotopes are already so great that many people are convinced the ultimate benefits accruing from their use will alone be worth all the money spent on atomic-energy developments."

An important example is the Cobalt 60 radio-isotope, known as the "cobalt bomb," which Canada has used very successfully and sold commercially. A Cobalt 60 beam-therapy unit for the treatment of cancer costs about $50,000 and is the equivalent of $50,000,000 worth of radium. The commercial-products division of Atomic Energy of Canada, Lt., supplies not only the radioactive source but the operating equipment and installation service. The largest amount of radioactive material ever put to commercial use was the Cobalt 60 shipped this year to the University of Michigan to be used in research work on sterilization of foodstuffs, drugs, and other problems. It had a total activity of about 10,000 curies—a curie has the strength of radiation of one grain of radium, and hospitals with three grams of radium have been considered very well equipped.

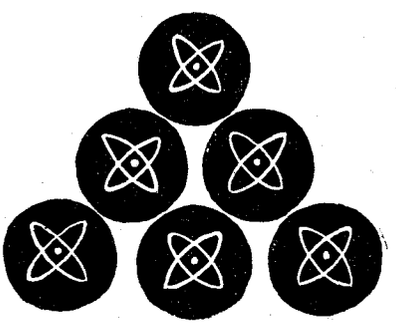
It is because Canada has the most powerful atomic reactor in the world that it can produce the cobalt and other radioactive isotopes. From a small beginning six years ago the distribution of isotopes for use in universities, hospitals, and industries has steadily widened. In 1952 more than 1,100 shipments of about 80 different isotopes were made. The figures will be higher this year.

Graphite reactors, the principal type used in the United States and Britain, cannot produce Cobalt 60 of as high a specific activity as can be made in the heavy-water "NRX" reactor of Chalk River. For this reason the United States has made use of the NRX reactor for certain experiments in atomic energy.

Canada has spent about $30,000,000 on two reactors—"ZEEP" and "NRX"—at Chalk River. The cost of the more powerful reactor now being built there, "NRU" is placed at about $40,000,000. NRU was especially designed to lend itself to the research and development needed to produce the fourth reactor—the "power pile." It is expected to go into operation early in 1954. The time necessary to complete the "power pile" has been estimated as anywhere between one and ten years. Defense Production Minister C. D. Howe has been saying an atomic-power plant would be ready in Canada in five years.

REPRESENTATIVES of private industry have played a prominent role in Canada's atomic-energy program from the start. Among the nine directors of Atomic Energy of Canada, Lt., are the head of the Hydroelectric Power Commission of Montreal, the president of Calgary Power, the general manager and chief engineer of the Ontario Hydroelectric Power Commission, the manager of the economics and statistics department of the Shawinigan Water and Power Company of Montreal, and the comptroller of the Steel Company of Canada, Hamilton. The four others are the dean of the University of Toronto graduate school, the vice-president of the government-operated National Research Council, Dr. Mackenzie, and W. J. Bennett, who has succeeded Mackenzie as head of Atomic Energy of Canada, Lt., and is president of the government-owned Eldorado Mining and Refining Company, the only uranium refinery in Canada.

In the years before the war the Eldorado Company, then privately owned, switched its attention from gold mining to the production of radium from the great pitchblende beds on the southeast shore of Great Bear Lake at a point now called Port Radium. A plant to refine the concentrates was built in 1933 at Port Hope, Ontario. In June, 1942, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill met at Hyde Park and decided that the United States would embark on the great Manhattan Project, and later that year Eldorado was given a contract to produce uranium for the undertaking. In January, 1944, the government of Canada expropriated the shares of the company.



In the same year it was decided that Canada should build a heavy-water reactor as a pilot plant for production of plutonium, and work was begun at Chalk River. Defense Industries, Lt., government-owned, handled the engineering design and construction, and the National Research Council the research and scientific studies. In September, 1945, this first pile, known as "ZEEP" (zero energy experimental pile), came into operation, the first nuclear reactor outside the United States.

Atomic Energy of Canada, Lt., also a government-owned company, was set up in 1952 and took over the Chalk River establishment from the National Research Council. "The industrial aspects of the Chalk River establishment have been increasing," says Dr. Mackenzie, "and there has been a growing feeling that large-scale industrial application of atomic power is closer than had been expected. For these reasons it was considered desirable that the project be segregated from other government activities and operated by a staff without outside responsibilities."

Further work in the atomic field is supported at Canadian universities through the National Research Council. Thus there are several "atom smashers" in operation—the cyclotron at McGill University, Montreal; a synchrotron at Queens University, Kingston; a betatron at the University of Saskatchewan; a Van de Graaff generator and linear accelerator at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

For a country of 15,000,000 people, Canada has gone a long way in investigating the peace-time uses of atomic energy. If it accomplishes as much in the next nine years as it has in the nine years since it embarked on this project, the government—and the Canadian people—will be satisfied.

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BOOKS

The War That Haunts Us

A HISTORY OF THE SOUTH. By Francis Butler Simkins. Alfred A. Knopf. $7.50.

THE NEGRO IN THE CIVIL WAR. By Benjamin Quarles. Little, Brown and Company. $5.

STANTON: LINCOLN'S SECRETARY OF WAR. By Fletcher Pratt. W. W. Norton and Company. $5.95.

By Bruce Catton

AMERICA is still haunted by the ghost of the Civil War. The ha'nt has been roaming the corridors for nearly a century, and it will go on doing so for a long time, a quiet reminder of a tremendous event which persists in remaining contemporary.

For the war was not merely a gigantic pageant, splashed with fire and laden with high tragedy, and it was not simply a prodigious mistake that might have been avoided if men had been a little cooler and wiser. It was a profound turning-point and its legacy is an unending challenge; the whole meaning of our democratic experiment is bound up with it.

So we continue to get books on the subject, and we need them because our understanding of it is by no means complete. The three under consideration here, widely dissimilar as they are, help to focus attention on the central, haunting question: What did the whole business mean?

It meant a good many things of course, but basically it meant that the nation had committed itself, once and for all, to the attempt to apply unvarnished human freedom all across the board. By immeasurably broadening democracy's scope the war revealed that it was going to be much harder than optimists had supposed to make democracy work.

The war was evil, ugly, tragic—yet it left the national destiny pinned to a star. It pledged us to live by the affirmation "All men are created equal," even though most of us don't really believe it. Values growing out of the Mayflower compact must be proved good for men whose origins trace to the fearful hold of the slaver or the crowded steerage of the immigrant ship. Blindly, clumsily, and for the most part subconsciously we affirmed through the Civil War that somehow this can be done. The job will be completed probably only on the eve of the millennium, but we can never stop trying.

IN "A History of the South" Professor Simkins studies "those political and social traits that make the region between the Potomac and the Rio Grande a cultural province conscious of its identity." Basic to this cultural distinctiveness he sees the ancient doctrine of white supremacy, a doctrine weakened by war and Reconstruction less than many people believe: "The bonds of caste by which the Negro was kept subordinate and underprivileged were weakened in few respects."

It is generally believed that the South will finally bring the Negro into the mainstream of its social, economic, and political life, but Dr. Simkins confesses that he sees few signs of such progress. "The South in 1952," he says, "was almost as complacent as when it was attacked by the Abolitionists or the Reconstruction radicals." The distinctive culture of the region, he holds, was never destroyed.

And yet—what is the South? It is the Negro as well as the white man, and in "The Negro in the Civil War" Professor Quarles examines the part that the three and one-half million Southern Negroes played in the conflict. If they refused to revolt, and rendered the Confederacy an immense service by hewing its wood and drawing its water while its whites went off to war, they nevertheless struck valiant blows in their own behalf. Upward of 200,000 of them served in the Union army and navy, and a rough time they had of it too, with racial prejudice striking at them from above and below.

Their story is a tragic one, and Professor Quarles tells it very well. In the end he finds that the whole of it was somehow greater than the sum of its parts. The real significance of the war as he sees it was "the momentum it gave to the ideals of freedom and the dignity of man. It made easier every subsequent battle for human rights." This is the first comprehensive account of what the colored man did in the Civil War. A work of fine scholarship, it is written with uncommon urbanity and objectivity.

LASTLY, we have Fletcher Pratt's "Stanton: Lincoln's War Secretary," a long-overdue attempt to get the enigmatic figure of Secretary Stanton into focus. As Mr. Pratt points out, Stanton's fame has suffered because biographers of so many other Civil War notables, from Lincoln to McClellan, have cast him in the role of villain. He has been presented as coarse, treacherous, dictatorial, and erratic, a vengeful busybody who finally became the willing instrument of the most unscrupulous and vicious leaders of the attempt to reduce the late Confederacy to the level of a conquered province.

Mr. Pratt offers a logical and persuasive defense. He sees Stanton as a man with a burning passion for human freedom and as an administrator of uncommon talents—one of the select group of Northerners without whom the war would not have been won. He denies that he tried to dictate strategy and tactics to professional soldiers. Stanton, he finds, was a conscientious driver who insisted on prosecuting the war to victory in spite of appeasers and faint hearts and who never lost sight of the lofty values which lay in the balance.

Clearly the present drift is away from the "revisionist" doctrine that has been so popular in recent years. The war, says Mr. Pratt, did mean something; it did buy something, and what it bought was worth getting. In sum, from all three of these books we get the sense that the war was only a beginning. It left us with a tremendous job to do, and we are still working at it.

BRUCE CATTON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is the author of three volumes on the Army of the Potomac. The final one, "A Stillness at Appomattox," will appear later this month.*

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A Gentleman in Politics

HENRY CABOT LODGE: A BIOGRAPHY. By John A. Garraty. Alfred A. Knopf. $6.

By Keith Hutchison

ALTHOUGH Henry Cabot Lodge died more than a quarter of a century ago, he remains a controversial figure. Shortly after his death two brief biographies appeared, both by friends and both laudatory. More recently, in 1943, Karl Schriftgiesser wrote "The Gentleman from Massachusetts," characterized by the author of this new life as "marred by a partisanship as extreme as that of its subject."

A trained historian, Mr. Garraty himself has sought to avoid "the twin perils of the whitewash and the tar barrel" and on the whole has succeeded. This does not mean that he has achieved merely a colorless neutrality. He praises some of Lodge's actions, condemns others. But primarily his aim "has been to show [his] subject's point of view." Pursued with thoroughness and objectivity, this course promotes justice, but, the record being what it is, Senator Lodge's admirers will probably regard it as lacking mercy.

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., and Governor John Davis Lodge showed a sense of obligation to history when they placed their grandfather's papers at Mr. Garraty's disposal without imposing conditions. Both read the manuscript but acted as critics, not censors. At the author's suggestion Ambassador Lodge has expressed in footnotes his disagreement with some of the book's conclusions.

Henry Cabot Lodge was a Boston Brahman of the bluest hue. Henry Adams, his history teacher at Harvard and life-long friend, persuaded him to adopt a historico-literary career while dabbling in politics. As things turned out, he dabbled in history while making a vocation of politics, although he always resented classification with the professionals.

In his youth Lodge had nothing but contempt for those who made party loyalty a first principle. At that time, in association with men like Carl Schurz and E. L. Godkin—he was a contributor to *The Nation* in the late seventies—he appeared to be a conservative reformer in bitter opposition to the old, corrupt Republican gang and such wavers of the bloody shirt as James G. Blaine. But independence paid no dividends, and by 1884, when he was chosen chairman of the Massachusetts Republican Central Committee, his full devotion to the G. O. P. was no longer suspect. "He is the gentleman and scholar in politics," the Boston correspondent of the New York *Tribune* noted at the time, "without the guilelessness and squeamishness of the said gentleman and scholar."

One aspect of his new approach to politics was his changed views on protection. In his reforming days he expressed strong free-trade opinions, but by 1886 the tariff issue had become for him "simply a question of expediency," and thereafter he always found it expedient to support higher rates of duty.

Lodge showed more consistency in his support of a big navy, and he became a foremost advocate of American imperialism. As such he took a leading part in the great battle for ratification of the Philippine treaty, concerning which he wrote to Theodore Roosevelt: "I confess I cannot think calmly of the rejection of that treaty by a little more than one-third of the Senate. It would be a repudiation of the President and humiliation of the whole country in the eyes of the world, and would show that we are unfit to enter into great questions of foreign policy."

After victory was secured, he described the struggle as "the closest, hardest fight I have ever known." Almost exactly twenty years later he captained the opposition in the even harder fight over ratification of the Versailles treaty and succeeded in engineering the "repudiation" of another President. Lodge was on record many times as approving the League of Nations idea, but, Mr. Garraty asserts, "he was unwilling to devote himself to positive action toward creating a workable one."

In one of his footnote comments Ambassador Lodge challenges this statement, claiming that his grandfather was ahead of his time in that the League Covenant plus the Lodge reservations add up to the United Nations constitution. This is a rather naive piece of special pleading, since the problem of creating an *effective* international organization that does not compromise the sovereignty of the United States—or that of any other nation—has still to be solved.

One element in the League fight emphasized by Mr. Garraty—with the Ambassador entering a not very convincing demurrer—was Lodge's hatred of Wilson. Another and possibly even more important one was the Senator's fear of his colleague Borah, an all-out opponent of the League who was not the least interested in making it workable. "If Lodge pursued a policy with which Borah disagreed, the Idahoan would go his own way—and probably take a significant fraction of the party with him." A party split! Possible loss of leadership to the wild man from the West with whom Lodge disagreed on most other issues! Such things were unthinkable, and so, with a powerful assist from the obstinate Presbyterian in the White House, world unity was sacrificed to party politics.

KEITH HUTCHISON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is the author of "The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism" and other books.*

Old Spanish Song

Estos mis cabellicos, madre;
Dos á dos me los lleva el aire.

Leaf and old paper race by together,
The edge of the year is beginning to fray,
And these fair hairs on my head, mother,
Two by two the wind blows them away.

Promise and dream whirl off in tatters,
The fading sun slants to the gust,
The shutter bangs, the weatherboard clatters,
The gourd on its vine scrapes in the dust.

This is it, there will be no other:
The tempest tears at the ends of the day,
And these fair hairs on my head, mother,
Two by two the wind blows them away.

SAMUEL YELLEN

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New Books in Brief

Utopia with Profits

ROBERT OWEN OF NEW LANARK. By Margaret Cole. Oxford. $3.50.

The world has always wondered how Robert Owen turned an early-nineteenth-century factory community into a kind of Utopia without sacrificing his profits. Owen said he did it by providing his workers with decent living conditions and explaining very clearly the advantages of moral behavior. It seems too simple, but too many observers have praised his work to leave any doubt of his success. The rest of Owen's career, like almost all social reform since his time, was an unsuccessful attempt to repeat his miracle. This new biography describes Owen's rise to wealth and fame, his failures at New Harmony in Indiana and elsewhere, his relations with the British trade-union movement, and his declining years as an admired but ineffective patriarch of reform. It describes a man who was both egotistical and selfless, a visionary and a bore, an inspired leader and a hopeless collaborator. Wherever town planning, progressive education, or industrial "human relations" are thought of, the influence of Owen is at work, for he was the first to suggest them. The theme of all his thought was the doctrine of human perfectibility, the fundamental idea of democratic government. In spite of Owen's many faults and confusions, Owenism remains the most confident expression of that idea.

All About Icons

RUSSIAN ICONS. Introduction by Philipp Schweinfurth. Iris Books (Oxford). $6.50.

Although the price of this small book is high, its fourteen full-page color plates are of superb quality, and they are supplemented by twelve others in monochrome, two of them details. The accompanying essay is a good if brief introduction to the nature and meaning of these icons, their source in Byzantine and earlier classical art, the composition of icon screens—which sometimes contained as many as eighty icons—and questions of technique, schools, and individual masters. The color plates, inserted in the text with detailed commentary on the opposite page, interrupt the flow of the text, but no publisher can be expected to group color plates at the end of a book.

Six of the plates, including three in color, are taken from originals in the magnificent collection of George R. Hann in Pittsburgh, which contains probably the finest concentration of Russian icons in the United States. Their rich reds, bronze greens, and parchment whites are wonderfully well reproduced.

Parable of Sin

BROTHER TO DRAGONS. By Robert Penn Warren. Random House. $3.50.

In 1811 Lilburn and Isham Lewis, nephews of Thomas Jefferson, butchered a slave who had smashed a pitcher prized by their dead mother. The murder (the flaw in man) and Jeffersonian idealism (the perfectibility of man) form the opposite symbols of Warren's long poem, a conversation piece occurring beyond time and place and involving all those whose lives were touched by the crime. It is, however, Jefferson and Robert Penn Warren, speaking in his own voice, who emerge as the principals. Warren concludes that one must accept the flaw in man as a starting point.

The poem, that is to say, is a parable of original sin. Even more interestingly, it may be read in terms of the Southern cavalier tradition, which, like Jefferson (as Warren interprets him), set its ideal so high that to subscribe to it was to fail. The intellectual attitudes consequent on that failure may well be the history of Southern thought. Lilburn's violence is certainly the violence of a Poe. Lilburn's desire to have a hurt to resist is common to Faulkner characters—or, sweetened, it could become Captain Carpenter. The way Warren's characters take refuge in alcohol, in bitterness, in intuitive certainties, or in wild sentimentality, is familiar behavior in Southern fiction. One is tempted to think that Warren has accomplished a précis of practically every Southern literary type in a single book.

Technically the poem seems loose, despite Warren's narrative skill. It may be that discursive poetry requires by its very nature some one element of formality, whether a tighter line or a tighter pattern. One must regret also a recurring echo of Eliot, and an amazingly direct sound of MacLeish in the long Meriwether Lewis passage.

Remembrance of Things Past

IN THE TWILIGHT OF SOCIALISM. By Joseph Buttinger. Praeger. $6.

This is a curious "history" of the Social Democratic Party of Austria by an astute participant-observer. It covers the period from the bloodshed in Vienna in February, 1934, to the Nazi conquest of the Ostmark, with a brief and confused sequel on the underground and the post-war resurrection. Its curiousness resides in a total absence of documentation and in the author's consistent ambivalence. He can never quite decide, even after 577 pages, whether he is writing an indictment or a eulogy of the Austrian Socialists and their leaders. E. B. Ashton's translation is competent, but the author's pseudo-dramatic style and heavy irony are tedious. With the exception of a handful of Ph.D. candidates, few Americans will wade through these turgid chapters—unfortunately for author and publisher. Yet the dilemmas and frustrations of European socialism deserve far more attention than they are currently accorded in America. Buttinger's book offers light, for those with patience to seek it out.

American Protestantism

THE GREAT TRADITION OF THE AMERICAN CHURCHES. By Winthrop S. Hudson. Harper. $3.75.

Dr. Hudson's book emphasizes the fact that "as the vigor and vitality of the churches decline, the pressure to call upon the state for help becomes almost irresistible." Its purpose is to define the Protestant American tradition historically. This is done with skill and brevity. It is good for Americans to know more of their indebtedness to seventeenth-century English Puritanism for a heritage of voluntary church membership and separation from the control of the state. The book is marred by its preoccupation with the claims of neo-orthodoxy and the alleged bankruptcy

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of the "new" theology. The social, economic, and scientific advances of the twentieth century are treated as secular threats rather than as allies of a free church.

The cure suggested by Dr. Hudson for the present spiritual poverty of American churches will seem unconvincing to millions of ethically sensitive Americans; it is a return to evangelical Christian doctrine divorced from any consideration of the great moral dilemmas of this century—poverty, hot and cold wars, fear and hatred on a planetary scale in a day of unsurpassed technological know-how that could build a good life for all. Even after a fairly sympathetic chapter on Walter Rauschenbusch, the social prophet, Dr. Hudson writes in a later section: "The work of Christ is not primarily to bind men together into one universal family but to relate men through faith to God."

An Italian Maugham

DINNER WITH THE COMMENDATORE. By Mario Soldati. Translated from the Italian by Gwyn Morris and Henry Furst. Knopf. $3.50.

"Dinner with the Commendatore" is made up of three stories as narrated by the Commendatore P. G. C., a retired opera impresario of international repute. The book introduces a new Italian author to American readers, Mario Soldati, who is well known in his own country as a director of mediocre films. Mr. Soldati is a better than average story-teller, a kind of Latin Somerset Maugham, and presents us with some curious and interesting people, but he rarely probes very far below the surface and when he does he is not convincing. The best of these tales is the last one, The Window, which gives a sharp portrayal of a charming, weak-willed ne'er-do-well who, for that very reason, is devastatingly successful with women. Soldati writes pleasantly and without effort, but this book is a far cry from the best Italian post-war fiction. The translation is excellent.

CORRECTION: In the review of "The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud," in *The Nation* of October 24, it was stated that the book was the first of two projected volumes. It is the first of a three-volume work.

By rearming Germany,

are we creating a Frankenstein?

GERMANY
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We need a stronger, smarter, more independent State Department to cope with the menace of Communism, says ***John J. McCloy*** in *THE CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY*—and the message of this controversial book applies to every problem from Germany to the H-bomb.

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Watch for Next Week's

Nation!

Theater

Freda Kirchwey

THE Ladies of the Corridor" (Longacre Theater) has so many merits that its one major fault should be disposed of at the start. This grim and interesting study of women alone, aging in well-padded frustration in a genteel New York hotel, seemed to me too pat and neat to establish fully its inner truth. The truth is there, but you long for a few loose threads, an ambiguity or two, some human inconsistencies to rumple up the pattern. The authors would scorn the contrived happy ending, but their multiple unhappy endings seemed contrived too. Perhaps all I'm saying is that Dorothy Parker and Arnaud D'Usseau are not Chekhov.

Their fault is, one must admit, almost wiped out of mind by the brilliant characterization of the three chief "ladies" by Edna Best, Frances Starr, and Betty Field, and by Harold Clurman's crisp, subtle direction. Every member of the cast performed well, singly and in the difficult coordination of action broken up into a succession of episodes in a series of rooms and halls. Not an easy business to integrate, either dramatically or physically.

But the play is the important thing. However constructed and presented, it has a theme and one that seems to me to have been missed by most early reviews. Of course it is about empty lives and the desperate expedients, the sad, frightening abnormalities that dominate and may destroy people who lead such lives. This is the obvious theme. But the authors were up to something more; I suspect them of having written a well-camouflaged morality play, a comment on a society that enjoins upon intelligent, energetic women a quarter-century or so of idle uselessness. What kind of a system is this, they seem to be asking, that makes it the normal, expected thing for men to spend their days piling up funds to enable the wives who outlive or divorce them to survive without any effort except that involved in "filling" empty time? One reviewer described Mrs. Nichols, played by Frances Starr, as "a character that looks colorless in the early scenes" but "becomes an admirable human being with strength of mind" as the play develops. This seems to me a misreading of the character which implies a misreading of the play itself. Surely Mrs. Nichols is not admirable or even quite human. She is a symbol of power and sharp intelligence narrowed to a ruthless, unscrupulous, sadistic concentration on the single object it can control—the son who is also attendant and nurse. Without overtly doing more than expose the corroding nature of this relationship, the authors were surely suggesting that both son and mother would have led effective, satisfying lives in a society that provided normal outlets for such ability as hers.

In a quite contrary sense, the "leading" lady, Lulu Ames—played with immense sympathy and imagination by Edna Best—was another example of conspicuous and unnecessary waste. Widowed, rich, and still possessed of good looks and all her faculties, she arrives on the scene prepared to enjoy the great city. But she too was defenseless. Having missed love, she demanded far too much of the pleasant facsimile of it that came her way. Her defeat was not just the end product of an unsuccessful marriage. It was invited also by her lack of any other relationship to life, any achievement or function or interest or devotion. No wonder love hurried out the door and Lulu went back to needlepoint.

The lurking presence of social criticism just off stage lends a necessary added dimension to what would otherwise be little more than a series of lively portraits hooked together by a rather obvious idea. It goes some way toward justifying even the "contrived" aspect of the people and their fates. What bothers me is the question whether I have arbitrarily injected this presence —this ghost of August Bebel—into the proceedings, since it seems to have been invisible to other witnesses; and the further question whether, if it is actually there, it could not have been made a little more manifest without going against the dictates of "good theater."

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Records

B. H. Haggin

AT THE New York City Opera's performance of Von Einem's "The Trial," based on the Kafka novel, I found myself understanding as little of what was happening to Joseph K. as he did—only that he was being destroyed by a relentlessly hostile world for reasons and in ways beyond rational comprehension. It didn't matter, therefore, that I couldn't hear half or more of the words through the orchestra: what the music gave expressive force to was not the particular incidents or words but the terrifying general situation. And it did this not with the vocal recitative but with the powerful orchestral commentary—the effect of the work, for me, being that of a long orchestral crescendo which reached a shattering climax in the last scene. The staging of the work by Otto Preminger, the scenery of Rouben Ter-Arutunian, the lighting by Jean Rosenthal, the vocal and dramatic performances of John Druary, Phyllis Curtin, Lawrence Winters, and the rest of the cast, the playing of the orchestra under Rosenstock's direction added up to a production that is one of the company's most successful and distinguished achievements.

TWO SECULAR cantatas by Rameau, "Diane et Actéon" and "L'Impatience," are sung by Hugues Cuenod, tenor, with Robert Brink, violin, and Alfred Zighera, viola da gamba, under the direction of Daniel Pinkham, harpsichord (Lyrichord). The music is no more than pleasant, but Cuenod's sustained inflection of his unusual voice in the phrases is again an exciting experience. The French texts have many mistakes and are incorrectly translated.

The excerpts from Handel's opera "The Faithful Shepherd" performed under Lehman Engel's direction (Columbia) also are pleasant—especially the ones in which one hears the lovely soprano voice of Genevieve Warner. The lighter soprano of Lois Hunt also is agreeable; but the voices of the others are not; their sharp American t's in the Italian words are disturbing; and at times they are inadequately supported by nothing more than the cello's bass-line.

From London comes another of those objectionable LP medleys—this time of old Italian arias and German lieder sung by Irma Kolassi, mezzo-soprano. The Italian arias include the lovely "Amarilli mia bella" of Caccini and "Intorno all'idol mio" of Cesti, the moving "Lasciatemi morire" of Monteverdi, and charming lighter pieces by Falconieri, Paisiello, and Alessandro Scarlatti; the German songs Schumann's "Widmung," "Die Lotosblume," and "In der Fremde," and Schubert's "Der Musensohn," "Du bist die Ruh'," and "Der Erlkönig." I found the limited color of the voice monotonous in the German songs, but not in the Italian arias; and I suspect this was because of the greater life in the phrasing of the Italian pieces. No texts.

The baritone Fischer-Dieskau sings Beethoven's "An die ferne Geliebte" cycle and some fine songs—Schubert's "Nacht und Träume," "Der Doppelgänger," "Du bist die Ruh'," "Fischermädchen," and "Der Erlkönig," Schumann's "Mondnacht"—in addition to a few of less consequence (HMV). The singing is very beautiful except in loud passages, in which the voice gets unpleasantly hard; and Fischer-Dieskau indulges in a melodramatic non-legato in "Der Doppelgänger," a whispered *war tot* at the end of "Der Erlkönig." The sound of his voice is distorted in the last song on each side.

The Songs of England sung by Jennifer Vyvyan, soprano (London), include several fine folksongs, of which "I Will Give My Love an Apple" is especially lovely and "Sweet Polly Oliver" is delightfully arranged by Benjamin Britten, and several fine art songs by Purcell, Arne, and the contemporary Antony Hopkins. Two by Michael Head and Herbert Howells are pretty; the rest by Liza Lehmann, Vaughan Williams, and Quilter I don't care for. They are sung well.

A London record of some of the music performed at the 1953 Aldeburgh Festival (England) offers an orchestral piece, Variations on an Elizabethan Theme by six contemporary English composers—Arthur Oldham, Michael Tippett, Lennox Berkeley, Benjamin Britten, Humphrey Searle, and William Walton—played by the Festival Orchestra under Britten, and three vocal works conducted by Imogen Holst: Arne's "Now All the Air Shall Ring," sung by Arda Mandikian and Gladys Whitred, sopranos, and the Festival Choir with the orchestra; his Ode in Honor of Great Britain, "Rule Britannia," sung by Alfred Deller, counter-tenor, Peter Pears, tenor, and Norman Lumsden, bass, with the chorus and orchestra; and Purcell's anthem "O Lord, Grant the Queen a Long Life," sung by Pears with the chorus and orchestra. The Arne pieces are pleasant; the Purcell is more impressive; the orchestral piece I don't care for. The performances are good, except that Pears's voice now has a strong quaver in its upper range. There is a strong hum on the side with the orchestral piece.

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Letters

Old Stock Illusion

Dear Sirs: Here is my commentary on the assumption, held in certain quarters, that only "old-stock" Americans have a true concept of what is good for America and must band together to keep it pure:

ANY "OLD STOCK" TODAY?

Join the party that is select,
Whose attitude remains correct
Toward the evils of intellect.
It's head in the ground, policy sound,
Old-stock American plan!

Old-stock American plan
Relieves the feeling of also ran,
Reserves the vote for the gentleman.
It's aged in the wood, bound to be good
Head in the ground, policy sound,
Old-stock American plan!

As leaders of society
We're models of propriety
In hypocritical piety.
It's hundred proof, wrong to spoof,
Aged in the wood, bound to be good,
Its head in the ground, policy sound,
Old-stock American plan!

MARIE SIEN HALPENNY

San Antonio, Tex.

In Defense of S. D. A.

Dear Sirs: The Nation is to be commended for publishing reports [issue of October 3] on three recent youth conferences in which the "silent generation" proved that it too has a voice which wants to be heard. As a delegate to the sixth annual convention of Students for Democratic Action in Philadelphia, I would like, however, to take exception to some points made by Mr. Smitheman.

Mr. Smitheman declared that the convention represented in microcosm the weaknesses of contemporary liberalism. He referred to the prevailing sectarianism, negativism, and lack of inspiring leadership. While these charges may apply to certain segments of the liberal movement, I feel that they unfairly characterize the deliberations of the convention and the programs evolved there.

It is true that since its founding six years ago S. D. A. has consistently adhered to a policy of non-collaboration with totalitarian groups of the far left and the far right. But regardless of the merits of such a policy, it has never bred the kind of confused sectarianism Mr. Smitheman describes.

His charge of negativism cannot be dismissed off-hand. Yet I was surprised that Mr. Smitheman failed to mention S. D. A.'s new Labor Cooperation Program, "Operation Brotherhood," and the educational program designed to encourage a critical reevaluation of "basic liberal values and long-range objectives." The Labor Cooperation Program is a bold attempt to pave the way for an eventual organic connection between the labor movement and the liberal youth movement; it ranges from summer projects for labor students in various industrial centers to student aid to striking unions. "Operation Brotherhood" was launched as a nation-wide drive to eliminate discriminatory clauses in fraternity and sorority constitutions and to remove other forms of bias from American campuses. To insure maximum success, S. D. A. is going to cooperate with other campus and national organizations, such as N. A. A. C. P. and A. D. L., wherever possible. The new educational program was given by its authors the significant name "Beyond the New Deal" and directly refutes Mr. Smitheman's contention that S. D. A. is merely repeating the rhetoric of the old New Deal days.

The leadership of an organization which originates such programs can hardly be accused of negativism. On the contrary, I was impressed with the leaders' and the delegates' conscious attempt to explore new ways to make S. D. A. a positive and inspiring liberal force on the campus.

Orange, N. J. CHARLES R. NAEF

Puzzling World

Dear Sirs: Mr. del Vayo's article, Report on South Africa, in your issue of October 24, brought tears to my eyes. . . . How strangely things seem to link up! Here we were pompously celebrating the eighth anniversary of the United Nations, and in your same issue there appeared Will They Wreck the U. N.? by Mark Gayn, and then again, Ike's Nazi Guests, by Milton Friedman. What strange bedfellows we of the United States hug to our bosoms!

New York City EVA ROBIN

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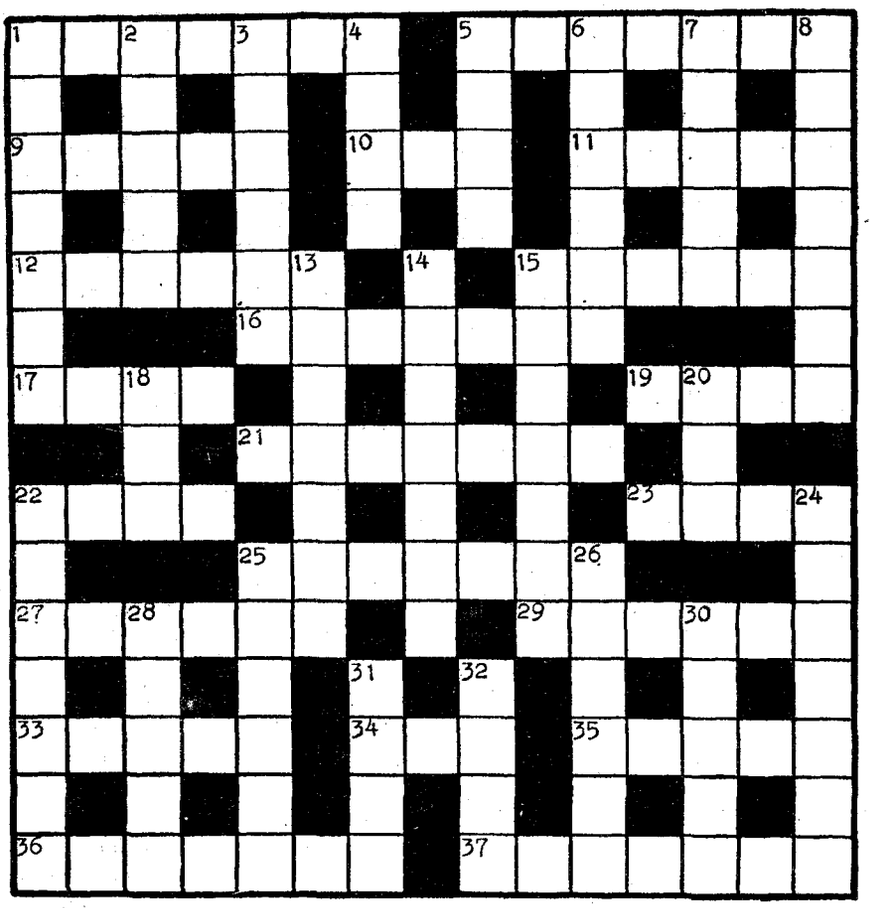
Crossword Puzzle No. 540

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Old medicines might imply an unsuccessful fisherman when I'm on to them. (7)
5 Set about to destroy something on the range. (7)
10 Fruit not 4 in the vernacular. (3)
11 Is it the habit of some people to cut in? (5)
15 Fiery red ant. (6)
16 Thus the trip begins, if you want to stay. (7)
17 The sort of style that's on top? (4)
21 It seems that the referee returns to make a decision in the ring. (7)
22 Wait—the sound of it is passed! (4)
23 and 19. What's behind the paddle could be assisted by a long-handled brush. (8)
25 One would hardly call it a quick conclusion! (4, 3)
29 Split between copper and silver in England? Nonsense! (6)
35 Bravery or brashness? (5)
36 Train. (7)
37 Distillation of rye sold by those of particularly high calling. (7)

DOWN

1 and 4 Not put out, and certainly not 18. (4, 3, 4)
3 Foil attacks? (6)
5, 33, 8, 12. Starting one dip after another? (3, 1, 5, 2, 5, 1, 5)
6 Is a scout so good, successively. (2, 4)
7 This weapon isn't exactly clean! (5)
13, 34 and 32. ∞ plus 1, in fourth dimension? (7, 3, 1, 3)
14 Wear away a stick in the middle. (7)
15, 9, and 27. Substituting Young for Hardy in the comedy scene? (1, 6, 3, 2, 6)
18, 20, 2 and 31. It isn't the Easter Bunny every year that's relatively angry! (3, 2, 1, 5, 4)
22 Almost every impression it gets is wrong. (7)
24 Killdeers, but not of French variety. (7)
25 Knock senseless (but not completely). (6)
26 Hummed, but not while working. (6)
28 One who tells life's tale, according to Macbeth. (5)
30 Incline or tend. (5)

• ✤ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 539

ACROSS:—1 STALAGMITE; 10 OCEANIC; 11 IN BRIEF; 12 TOUT; 13 SINGLE FILE; 15 NESTING; 16 RESOLVE; 17 NEWPORT; 20 ELOHIST; 22 BALUSTRADE; 23 OSSA; 25 EVASIVE; 26 MARTINI; 27 DODO; 28 POACHED EGG.

DOWN:—1 SHORTENING BREAD; 2 AVENUES; 3 ARNO; 4 and 6 MOCKING BIRD; 5 TRIGGER; 7 INITIAL; 8 DIFFERENTIATING; 9 OBSESSION; 14 MINOR SUIT; 18 WELLAND; 19 TORPEDO; 20 ENDEMIC; 21 INSPIRE; 24 FREE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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